

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 88.—No. 3.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 18TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



FAREWELL LETTER TO SIR ROBERT PEEL;

AND A

HEARTY WELCOME TO HIS SUCCESSOR.

Normandy Farm, 13. April, 1835.

SIR,—How many fallen Prime Ministers (good God!) has it been my lot to address! PITT, ADDINGTON, GRENVILLE (not Perceval: he fell in a different way), LIVERPOOL, CANNING, GODERICH, WATERLOO, GREY, MEL (no, hang it! not Melbourne! not William Lamb, though he did advise the King to spare the life of Thomas Goodman. No: not William Lamb! The critics say, that mine is a *hatchet*, and not a razor. Hatchet as it may be, I will not venture to use it upon William Lamb), and now Sir Robert Peel!

Who next: in the devil's name *who next!* For, mind my words, I shall have his fall to record too; down he comes, mind, if he takes his stand, as you have done, on the *tithes*, the *malt-tax*, "*national faith*," the *pension-list*, and the *Poor-law Bill*. I care not *who* he may be, or by what party, or what number of Members supported; down events pull him, if he thus takes his stand.

I am about to address you, sir, on certain passages in your two very clever speeches of Tuesday the 7. and of Wednesday the 8. of this month of April. In the latter, where you announced your resignation, you said, "The whole of my life has been spent in the House of Commons, and I desire that the re-

"mainder may be spent there; and what ever may be the conduct of others, I shall always be anxious to stand well with the House." It is quite surprising (for to suppose that you copied them, I do not) how nearly these words are to the very words, uttered by PITT, when he, a few years younger than you now are, quitted his place in 1801, to shove ADDINGTON into it; and, perhaps, you remember, (if you do not, I do), that he, who had a majority of five to one the day that he quitted his post, divided the House against ADDINGTON, in a few months afterwards, and found himself in a minority of *thirty-five* against *three hundred* and odd. Things, however, are changed. We have got a part of that reform, in order to prevent which, eight hundred millions of debt were contracted; and what is a great deal more than that, we are lopping off expenses, and drawing in paper-money, instead of augmenting expenses and putting out paper-money, as in the time of PITT and ADDINGTON. Therefore it is that the votes do not stick so closely as they did to the bench on which the Minister sits. The *people* come in now, and they have something to say; and be you assured, sir, that pledge-breaking will not serve a second time. Do not you remember, sir, that in the session of 1833, you, standing at the table and looking across it, and waving your hand towards the Treasury-bench, said, in parodying the words of DIVES to LAZARUS, "Between me and office *I see a great gulf*." There sat Lord ALTHORP to represent father ABRAHAM; but I really did think that you then wished to be in his seat, instead of his bosom; and I said to myself: "What a clever and what a weak man this is! he *talks* so well that he never thinks it worth while *to think*; if he did, he would shun that seat as a sailor shuns the rocks." The man that is there now has too much sense not to be ashamed and afraid of his majorities." They talk of his being Minister again. If that be true, he must resolve upon a thorough change

of the whole system, or he must be mad. He was the only man that could have pushed the system along for any length of time; and even he could not have done it for above a year or two, with all the chances of convulsion. When you came you had no chance of remaining in power, without a lightening of the burdens of the people at once; and Lord CHANDOS showed his soundness of judgment when he declined to take part in the Ministry, unless you agreed to a repeal of the malt-tax.

But now, sir, I come to other and higher matter. In your speech of Tuesday the 7. instant, I find the following passage. "Look, I warn you, to what you are about to do; you are entering on *new scenes*, and broaching bold and *strange principles*. To these scenes and those principles there will be, for there can be, no limitation, no check, but in the destruction of the Protestant church. (Cheers). I, sir, am not unconscious of the *difficulties of the present time*. I see well the *embarrassments that surround us*. I see the *erroneous and vicious doctrines respecting property* that are beginning to be set afloat. I see the *busy spirits* that are at work to *unsettle the public mind and heave the nation*. I would, then, most unfeignedly labour to *remove those difficulties*, and produce *general security and repose*; and I shall make every effort consistent with honour and public principle, and a regard for the public interest, to retain the post to which the favour of the Sovereign has called me."

Why, sir, as to "*new scenes*," and as to "*strange principles*," what is more new than the scenes now exhibited by your *poor-law commissioners*; what is a newer scene to Englishmen than your dagger-bearing, Bourbon-like police, hundreds of whom are notoriously and avowedly employed as spies? What more new then, after passing a dozen of acts of Parliament to prevent the sale of game; after twelve hundred years holding game and deer to be wild animals, *not private property*, not things raised for profit, and, therefore, not

titheable; what more new than to see the poor *transported* for being in pursuit of these animals, and to see the *nobility and GENTRY*, as they call themselves, become carcass-butchers, as to the deer, and become feeders, higglers, and poulterers, as to the game? What more strange than that new criminal code, of being the author of which you boast? What more hostile to every principle of the laws of England for more than a thousand years? What more new than setting aside the trial by jury, in five hundred instances? You talk of *standing by the constitution*. Why, *what is the constitution*? It is nowhere written in a book. It consists of the whole body of the common and fundamental laws of the country. And who, I pray, have done so much to set these fundamental laws aside as yourself and WATERLOO? WATERLOO tells us, that the Poor-law Bill *is the law*. Why, yes it is, to be sure; and it was the law that men should be punished for selling game; it was the law that a poor man could not be punished for a trespass without a trial by jury; and it was the law that the parishioners might inform against the parson, if he did not reside upon his living; and it was the law, that the overseers of the poor, being rate-payers in the parish, should have the power of relieving the poor.

In your speech of the 8. you say, that you never would advise the resignation of that *great source of moral strength*, which consists in a *strict adherence to the principles of the spirit of the constitution of the country*.—Pretty statement, to come from a man who invented the Bourbon-like police; who invented the new and tenfold hardened criminal code; who brought in the bill to enable a single justice of the peace to punish, criminally, that which was before simple trespass, liable to action and triable before a jury; and who, in the same act, kept the *great trespasser* out of the hands of the justice of the peace, and compelled the injured party to resort to an action at law; pretty observation, to come from a man who has had more hand in making a change in the constitution, in making a change in the very nature of the Government, than any man

that ever lived; pretty observation to come from a man, who, when DENMAN proposed to do away with the *transportation* for being in pursuit of game, urged him to preserve that new punishment; and, to his great shame, and I really believe his great sorrow, prevailed on the Whig Ministry to preserve it; and there it is now, filling the jails and the hulks. It is not for you to talk, then, of a *strict* adherence to the principles and spirit of the constitution.

And now, sir, as to "the *difficulties*" of the present time, and the "*embarrassments* that surround us"! What! "*difficulties*" and "*embarrassments*," at the end of twenty years of profound peace, coming after a *glorious* and successful war of twenty two years! What! "*difficulties*" and "*embarrassments*" surrounding us, after having made so many *conquests*, and *delivered* so many nations! Are we plunged into difficulties and embarrassments ourselves, while we have been *delivering* others? Was it to get everlasting difficulties and embarrassments *in peace*, that we paid a thousand millions of taxes, and that you borrowed six hundred millions of money besides to carry on the war? What will WATERLOO say to this? He has had about a million of our money for his services in the war, which was to obtain us lasting happiness and peace; which was to give us "*INDEMNITY FOR THE PAST. AND SECURITY FOR THE FUTURE.*" The *indemnity* we have in fifty annual millions of taxes, with wheat at five shillings a bushel: our *security* is described by *yourself*, in the difficulties and embarrassments by which we are surrounded. WATERLOO has *won* us a *loss* then! He and his "*companions in arms*," like the learned friars in a Chancery-suit, are the only parties that have gained. The old satirical picture, exhibiting the lawyer with a fat oyster between his teeth, presenting a shell to each of the parties who had been at law, is not a bad representation of WATERLOO, standing between the ruined English, and the not less ruined French. And here we are, then, steeped in "*difficulties*" and "*embarrassments*," having for our compensation and consolation, "*one tri-*

coloured flag," presented by WATERLOO every 18 of June, to the King at WINDSOR Castle, as an acknowledgment for the grant of STRATHFIELDSAY.

That is enough, I think, as to the wonderful circumstance of our being in difficulties and embarrassments. But, sir, what are our present difficulties? They are very simple in their nature. We have about two hundred thousand farmers, and three times the number of tradesmen, in a state of *real insolvency*; we have millions of working people, inadequately employed, from the poverty of the employers. We have a large part of our lands becoming barren, for want of labour bestowed upon them; and we have a Poor-law Bill, exciting bitterness in the breasts of millions; besides which, we have county-rates fast rivalling the expenses of relieving the poor. Now what are the causes of this state of things? The cause is one, generally speaking: the weight of the taxes in proportion to the price of the produce. You had as much to do as most men in imposing the taxes. You obstinately refused to lessen their amount, and you gladly accepted of *pledge-breaking* to uphold you in your refusal. In the speech which you put into the mouth of the King, you spoke of the local charges on the land. I have proved to you before, that the poor-rates have not increased, but in due proportion to the amount of the taxes. The county-rates have increased, I think, tenfold; and this increase arises *entirely* from your meddling with law-making. It is your new laws (so directly contrary to the very soul of English law) paying people for being prosecutors; it is this, and this alone, and your new trespass-law, and your poaching transportation-law, which have been the cause of the increase of the county-rates.

So that if you have difficulties you have yourself to blame. Your bill of 1819, which was rather more yours than that of anybody else, unaccompanied as it was with a reduction of the interest of the debt, has inflicted more injury than ever existed in the world before in any one country. I do not accuse you alone of having produced the difficulties and embarrassments; but I say that you have had

more to do in the producing of them than any other man in the country; and you now seem to think that it is your bounden duty to persevere in the same course. So that let us, I pray you, have no whining about difficulties and embarrassments. I told you of them often enough, God knows, before you got into them. I told you what you must do in order to avoid them. You have rushed into them in spite of my advice; and now we are going to see what a return you make me for that advice which I offered you, with a sincere desire that you would carry us through, or rather pull us aside from, these difficulties and embarrassments.

In your speech of the 7., from which I have made the above extract, you, immediately after speaking of the difficulties and embarrassments that surround us, say, in the way of stating the cause of the difficulties and embarrassments, "I see the *erroneous* and *vicious* doctrines respecting *property* that are beginning to be set afloat. I see the *busy spirits* that are at work to *unsettle* the public mind and *heave* the nation."

Now, sir, I will not affect to believe that this was not intended for me, for who else is there that has set afloat any notions respecting *property*? Besides, that I remember what you said in calling upon all men of *property* to combine against me. This word "*property*" is everlastingly upon your lips. You have a pretty large lump in one country and another; but one would think that you had it all, and that it was the very breath in your nostrils; like ARGAN in the AVARE of MOLIERE, who looked upon his casket of louis d'ors as the only thing in the whole world worth bestowing a thought upon. "C'est mon sang! C'est mon ame! Sans elle je n'a pas de vie." It is my blood; it is my life; without it I die. And having missed it, he sent for a commissary of police (one of your people), and told him to *begin* by arresting on suspicion all the town and all the suburbs! I do not pretend to believe that you at all resemble this wretched old miser, but really your everlasting worry about *property* always does put me in mind of the AVARE. Who wants your property? Who is there that wants to take away

other people's property? Who is there that sets forth any doctrines to lessen the sacredness of property? I know, and all men know, that you allude to my "*Legacy to Labourers*"; and it is very true that most efficient and practical doctrines were there set afloat with regard to property, but not "*erroneous*" and "*vicious*" doctrines; on the contrary, the book is a book founded on the laws of God and the laws of England; every statement and every argument in it stands supported by a reference to those laws; and as to the *security* of property, which you would insinuate the book endeavours to shake, the whole book tends to the conclusion, which is expressed in these words:

"Oh, no! my friends, the working people of England! Let us resolve to hold fast to the laws of God, and the laws of England; let us continue to hold theft and robbery in abhorrence; let us continue to look upon the property of our neighbour as something which we ought not even to covet, and as, next after life and limb, the thing most sacred on earth; but, let us at the same time perish, rather than acknowledge that the holders of the lands have a right so to use them, as to cause the natives to perish of hunger or of cold."

These are the very words with which the book concludes. How, then, can the doctrines of the book be said to be "*erroneous*" and "*vicious*"? It is, in fact, a *law-book*, small as it is; a succinct, simple, and yet ample exposition of the laws of England with regard to the origin and rights of property; and there is no man who is not like old ARGAN in the play, frightened at the thought of losing his money, or his land, or his goods, who will not say that every working man who has no property but his labour, will, when he has read this book, have a clearer idea of the sacredness of acquired property than he ever had before. If this be not so, however, why not answer the book? I will be bound to say, that more than two hundred thousand working men have already read this book. If the doctrines be *erroneous* and *vicious*, why not counteract them by answering the book? You must know that they are

erroneous and vicious before you say it, or at least you must believe what you say. Why not, then, bestow a week or two in answering the book. You have a good *twenty thousand parsons* at your command. Cannot you find one out of the twenty thousand to answer a book which you may carry in your breeches-pocket, and the price of which is sixteen-pence? If it be worth alluding to, it is worth answering; and you may be quite sure, that to *censure* and not to answer is to give currency to, and to stamp as truth, that which you call erroneous and vicious.

It is pretty curious, that you yourself, when in power before, along with WATERLOO, said, in your place in Parliament, that the *greatest evil* existing in this country was, "the accumulation of property in too few hands." I dare say that you remember that I said at the time, that nothing could be *more true* than this; but that I, if I had been in the place of WATERLOO, who was then headman over you, as you have recently been headman over him, and had had this *same system to carry on*, I would have sent for you, and would have made my footman horsewhip you within an inch of your life. I would have said: Why, don't you see that this is the very thing that that jacobin COBBETT has been preaching up for these twenty years past? Don't you hear him complaining of *monopolists*? Don't you hear him talk of *bull-frog farmers*, each of whom has got half a dozen farms in his hands? Don't you hear him complain of *the pikes* that are swallowing up first, the minnows, and then the dace and the trout? Don't you hear him ascribing great heaps of riches to *trick and fraud and paper-money*, and not to virtuous industry? Don't you hear him say, that the *aristocratical parsons* have beggared the working clergy, by taking to themselves a plurality of livings? Don't you hear him say, that *millionaire loan-jobbers* have swallowed up the estates and extinguished the families of the little gentry? Don't you hear him rail because men are made peers, merely because they have *sacks of gold*, which they have got out of the nation? And finally, don't you hear him indulge in his vulgar ribaldry upon "*lords of*

the loom," and "*spinning-jenny-baronets*"? Go, go, sir, I should have said: your political philosophy may be very sound for anything that I know to the contrary, but I know that it does not suit the system that I have undertaken to carry on; and therefore be so good as to hold your tongue for the future on this subject, or else go and join the jacobin COBBETT at once.

I have often wondered how you did come to say that which I have here cited; but every one must allow, that, stated in the naked manner in which you stated it, it really had a tendency to shake the security of property, for if it were true (and it was true), that property was got into *too few hands*, the remedy was, a new distribution; or at least a putting a stop to the system which had caused the injurious accumulation. You stated *the evil*, and so did I before you; but the fault you find with me is, that I suggest a remedy; and my remedy is, not to do injustice to anybody, but merely to put a stop to future injustice, and to take away from those who wrongfully possess, that which they do wrongfully possess; and I repeat here, notwithstanding your invectives of the 16. of May 1833; notwithstanding your famous apostrophe:

"Come the eleventh plague, rather than this should be,
"Come sink us rather in the sea.
"Come rather pestilence, and reap us down;
"Come God's sword, rather than our own.
"Let rather Roman come again,
"Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane;
"In all the bonds we ever bore,
"We grieved, we sighed, we wept; we never blushed before."

Notwithstanding this, and all that went before it, and came after it; notwithstanding all this, I would actually, if I had the power, *put in practice*, by means of an act of Parliament, that which so frightened you. And *what was it*, to which the "eleventh plague," to which "sinking in the sea," to which "pestilence" and "God's sword," were to be preferred? What was this horrible thing which I had proposed? Why, to ascertain how every man in the kingdom, who had a considerable estate, came by

that estate. What harm was there in this; but I have no objection to say, that I should particularly endeavour to ascertain, and I would ascertain, which of these estates had been purchased with money got out of the taxes; and then ascertain in what manner, and for what services, they had so been taken out of the taxes. I remember that BURDETT, many times over, and in the most public manner, and amidst the loudest applause, told us that certain persons who had received public money ought to be made to "*disgorge their past swallowings.*" However, if I had the power to act, I would not confine myself to words.

And now, sir, what was this proposition of mine more than what was very natural, after your own declaration of property being got into too few hands? If it were in too few hands, the remedy was, to put it into a greater number of hands; and the first step towards putting it into a greater number of hands was to ascertain whether any part, and what part, might be justly taken from the few, and by the means of relaxation of taxation dispersed amongst the many.

Notwithstanding, therefore, your invectives and your apostrophe, I cling to my proposition, and would act on it, if I had the power. No, sir, I defy any one to show that I have ever, directly or indirectly, inculcated a disregard of the laws of property. But, I may be allowed to doubt whether a pension, a sinecure, is property as sacred as land, house, goods or money, acquired by industry, or coming by descent. I may be allowed to doubt whether we ought to look upon the military and naval half pay to parsons as property. I may be allowed to doubt whether we ought to regard as property the immense sums taken away in tithes by clerical appropriators, while they leave the incumbent to be fed and clothed out of the taxes. Your alarm, if not a rhetorical flourish, in your speech of the 16. of May, 1833, considering yourself as an object of attack, as to property, was the most ridiculous ever witnessed by mortal man. Just as if I envied you your million or two of money: just as if I did not know that you never happened to receive public money worth speaking

of, and that as mere salary only; just as if I made my motion against you relative to the bill of 1819, in order to get at your money! This, therefore, was the most ridiculous whim that ever entered into a man's head, if it were not a mere flourish, as I said before. I want neither your lands, nor your funds, nor your town; nor the "*shares*" which the American newspapers (falsely, perhaps) say that you have in the canal, or the debt, of the State of *Pennsylvania*. I want nothing belonging to you; nor do I know any man that does; and never did know any such man; and I do not believe that there are twenty men in the whole kingdom, in the humbler walks of life, into whose heads it ever entered, that they should gain by a scramble for property.

But this has always been the case, ever since I have had any thing to do with political matters. Complain of any abuse, however monstrous; point out any speculator, however notorious, and however wicked; represent the people as suffering by having their money taken from them by the tax-gatherer; complain of any burden, any oppression, any tyranny, or insolence, on the part of any person in power; and instantly you want a revolution and a scramble; and really one would think that some of our accusers are sincere in this respect; for, we find not a few of them, and those of the biggest, too, depositing their little pickings in bank-shares, rail-road shares, canal-shares, in the *United States of America*, of all places in the world! *Right Honourable*, and noble, and most noble, as they are, they condescend to act upon the vulgar proverb, of not having all your eggs in one basket. Loyal, as they are; and so firmly attached to royal government, they can lend their little pickings to a republic; and, certainly, not because they think it less safe there than at home. Divers ladies, too, whose minds one would think were absorbed by subjects connected with balls and drawing-rooms, and all the elegances of sublime life, have a mind that we, on this side of the Atlantic, shall not scramble for all that they have, at any rate. I will take an early opportunity of re-

publishing the *names* of the parties who have been named in the Congress of America as having American bank-stock and as having Pennsylvania debt or canal shares. Of all the truths contained in the Bible, none is of greater practical utility than this: that, "*Where the treasure is, there will the heart be also*"; and, so fully am I convinced of this truth, that if I were King, and had servants to choose, I would choose no one whom I knew to have made another country the place of deposit of his treasure. My servants should have all their eggs in one basket, whether they were few or many.

Talk of scramble, indeed; talk of enmity to the laws of property; talk of the *eleventh plague*; and, in the name of all that is quaint, why the *eleventh*? Talk of rather being drowned in the sea, and rather having God's sword to reap us down by pestilence; talk of *blushing*; who gives the best security of his attachment to the laws, and of his readiness to abide by the fate of his country; he who keeps his treasure in his native country, or deposits it in foreign lands? King LOUIS PHILIPPE had eighty thousand pounds in the English funds, after he was King LOUIS PHILIPPE. He divided his eggs at any rate; the poor gulled and stupid French still cried *Vive Louis Philippe*.

Now, sir, with regard to the *busy spirits* that are at work to *unsettle* the public mind, and *heave* the nation. What do you mean by *unsettling*? It is to *settle* it, and not *unsettle* it. It must be a steady mind, indeed, if it remains settled, amidst the everlasting changes, not only in the measures of the Government, but in the persons who govern. You have been *unsettling* every thing for many years past; you have been changing all the laws, municipal as well as political. You have Bourbon-police; you have selling of game; you have commutation of tithes brought forward in a bill; you have a new marriage-act; you have fifty new laws about tithes in Ireland; you have a project for reforming the church in England. There has been a sort of reform of the Parliament itself; there is a bill in the Parliament to change

that act; you have a dozen bills for altering the common law; you have two-thousand-a-year LEWIS and penny-a-line CHADWICK at work, to upset the greatest law of the country, the law relating to the poor; and yet, amidst all your chop-pings and changings, and everlasting new laws and innovations; yet, amidst all this, you complain of persons at work to *unsettle* the public mind, and to *heave* the nation! Yes, *heave* it, as dough is heaved by the leaven or the yeast.

It is high time that it was *heaved*.

You squint at me; or, at least, I am one of the "*busy spirits*" engaged in this work; and, indeed, it would be pretty difficult to find a busier spirit, at any rate. I am not only endeavouring to *heave* the nation, but *I am actually heaving it*. In my "*Legacy to Labourers*" I have taught the nature, the origin, the laws of property: in my "*Legacy to Parsons*," I have, with the Statute-book constantly in my hand, laid the church and the clergy as naked as a fowl neatly picked and ready for the spit: in the "*Legacy to Lords*," I shall show, still with the Statute-book in my hands, how the aristocracy have treated the people for the last three hundred years; how they have gone on, taking the laws of their forefathers from them, and how they have grasped into their own hands the property of the industrious classes; and this LEGACY shall be in your hands before the Feast of St. MICHAEL next. With these three LEGACIES in their hands, this must be a lumpish nation, indeed, not to be *heaved*!

Now, sir, looking back at your famous apostrophe, I think it *my duty* thus to endeavour to *heave* this nation. But, at any rate, no one can dispute *my right* thus to use my power: that is quite as clear, at least, as your's and WATERLOO's right; and as GREY and MELBOURNE's right, to refuse (as you all did) to advise the King to *restore me my thousand pounds*, which was taken from me, in addition to my imprisonment and my bonds, for having expressed my indignation at the flogging of English local militia-men, in the heart of England, under a guard of German bayonets. You,

all of you, *chose* to do that ; and I *choose* to write these little books.

I *myself* know that it is my *bounden duty* to endeavour to *heave* the nation ; but, at any rate, none of you have any claim to be made acquainted with any thing relative to my *motives* for doing these things. Knowing, as I do, all about the treatment of the people by the aristocracy, what *motive*, then, can I want other than, as POPE says, "*the antipathy of good to bad*" ? But, to accommodate you, and to make things plain, I have not the smallest objection to have these efforts of mine ascribed wholly to *the resentment which I feel, on account of the treatment that I myself have received*. Oppression was never yet abated by a simultaneous movement of minds : it inflicts injuries on the whole mass of a community ; but, like a bullet fired into a crowd, it hits particular persons harder than the rest. The sufferings of these particular persons are greater than those of the mass ; they leave resentment behind ; and it is by communicating the feelings of individual resentment to the whole people, that oppression is abated, or checked, and that the freedom and happiness of the commonwealth are restored or preserved.

It is curious how this thing called the Government of England has worked along with regard to me. Since about the year 1797 it has grown into a *new sort of government* ; and I do verily believe, that the history of *my life* will be the history of *its life* ; for we have been at war from the day of its birth ; or, at least, from its very infancy. It has, in its march, destroyed, or silenced every formidable assailant except myself ; and the war between me and it is certainly as curious a matter as ever attracted the attention of mankind. I had been troublesome to it before 1810 : I had mauled PITT, and ADDINGTON, and GRENVILLE, and their several crews. The irresistibility of its power had been confirmed by the melancholy fate of so many victims, that it laid hold of me, expecting that one good *sharp bite* would be enough. It did bite sharply, to be sure. As the French say, it carried away the piece. It regarded surviving as impossible : it

was deceived for once : it never had to do with a plough-boy before. It is truly curious, that I, at that time, who had always hated cities, and London in particular, was actually entering into arrangements for getting rid of everything in London, publications and all ; was sowing seeds of trees, and plants of trees, and making all my calculations for bringing up my family as farmers. Sometime in 1809 I had brought to me a copy of the *ex-officio* information of GIBBS, the Attorney-General. I was leaning over a gate, and looking at the turnips in a field, when the paper was put into my hands. I saw at once the hell-born *intention*, and I saw the *consequences*. The beautiful field disappeared, and, in my imagination, I saw the *walls of a prison*. My blood boiled with resentment, and, cramming the paper into my pocket, I made an *oath*, which I have kept with a little more fidelity than Tories keep their pledges.

Curious, again, that I am once more in a *farm* ; but, as if afraid that twenty-five years might have blunted my resentment, the Greys and the Lambs began upon me again four years ago, and, as if both factions had agreed that my resentment ought to be *fresh sharpened up*, you yourself must needs thank DENMAN for his "*manly* prosecution of COBBETT !" Still, however, having got parliamentary reform in name, at any rate ; having triumphed over so many foes ; having seen so many, who wished to destroy me, laid sprawling at my feet ; and, having, above all, been placed in a *seat in parliament*, by the free voice of the most sensible and virtuous body of persons that I have ever known ; and having had given me for a colleague, a man, the sound of whose name conveys to the whole country, the idea of everything that is sensible, upright, and benevolent, my resentment was becoming blunted again ; and, though I happened to know that Lord ALTHORP was for prosecuting me in 1831, I most sincerely wished him the honour of restoring the country to freedom. But the POOR-LAW BILL I could not stomach ! That has revived all that was dying away in my breast. I have no *direct* power ; but I have great

indirect power; and that I am using, and that I will use, to the utmost of that capacity which it has pleased God to give me, always remembering His promise to be the protector of him "who considereth the poor."

Here, sir, there is *no disguise* at any rate, here is no underworking; if people do not see to the bottom of my motives, the fault is not mine. But what a childish thing it is in such a case, to talk about *motives*. Motives have nothing to do here, any more than they have with essays on *grammar*, or on *arithmetic*. It is with facts that we have to do here. I was determined in these *Legacies* of mine to keep clear of all *disputable* matter. They are books *built entirely on the laws*, and they admit of no answer from anybody who is not prepared to fling the statute-book into the fire, and to kindle the mass by returns laid before the Parliament. They admit of no answer. If their mischievous tendency be such as you represent, how criminal it is in you not to endeavour at least to destroy their effect! You have on your side the ablest pens of the daily press; and in the Editor of the *Standard* I verily believe that you have also *integrity* and *zeal*. I shall send him a "*Legacy to Parsons*," as I sent him a "*Legacy to Labourers*." Will he attempt to answer it? No: but will be shocked; will be astounded at the facts which will come before him, and will at once join with me in his heart, whatever he may do with his lips, that it is *utterly impossible to reform* this church by anything short of that species and extent of change which he has hitherto deemed synonymous with overturning it.

Thus far, sir, for matters between you and me; and now, if I had time, I should beg leave to address to you some observations with regard to your SUCCESSOR. Who he is to be I cannot even guess, and will not try to guess; nor do I care one straw who he is to be, because he will have just the same thing to deal with; and according to his manner of dealing with it will be his fate. The *Treasury bench* is quite another thing than what it was in the time of LIVERPOOL. However, not having time for

anything more than giving your successor a *heartly welcome to his post*, and having settled accounts with you, I now, on the 13. of April, bid you farewell, expecting that to-morrow's post will enable me to address your successor by name.

And I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

("THE BUSY SPIRIT,")

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

PEOPLE OF OLDHAM,

On the present strange State of Public Affairs.

Normandy Farm, 15. April, 1835.

MY FRIENDS,

THIS morning, long before four o'clock, I heard the blackbirds making the fields echo with their whistle; and a few minutes after four I, for the first time this year, heard the *cuckoo*, which I never before heard earlier than *May-day*. And now this cuckoo will, on Midsummer-day, cease to call us up in the morning, and cease its work of sucking the hedge-sparrow's eggs, depositing its own in the nest, making the poor hedge-sparrow bring it up until it be big and strong enough to kill and eat the hedge-sparrow; in all which respects it so exactly resembles the at once lazy and greedy and ungrateful and cruel vagabonds, who devour the fruit of our labour, and who want to make us live on "*a coarser sort of food*." But, my friends, I do verily believe that, before we shall hear this harbinger of summer again, the vagabonds, of whom it is the type, will have received a *souse*, such as they never received before: this belief I found on what I now behold, and relative to which I am about to give you the best account that I can.

You cannot read the newspapers and see the difficulties there are in the forming of what is called "*A CABINET*," without calling to mind my prophecy relative

to this matter. It will not be fulfilled to the very letter NOW ; but (and mark my words) if the *whole of the interest* of this debt be attempted (for a year or two longer) to be raised from the people, with wheat at 5s. a bushel, the prophecy will be fulfilled to the very last letter ; no one will be a minister of the King, " unless he be in want of the necessaries of life."

Turn a deaf ear, I pray you, to all that the newspapers tell us about *party-intrigues*, and about the conduct or wishes of the *King* and *Queen*, and about the *principles* and the *views* of the wranglers for *place* and *gain* and *power*. These all exist to be sure ; the *interests* and the *passions* are at work ; but it is the *state of the concern itself* that produces the real difficulty of getting men to carry it on. Sir Robert Peel has not been compelled to go out because anybody doubted either his integrity or ability, but because he had resolved to push on a system of taxation which the nation *cannot* bear. He could not repeal the *malt-tax*, and still pay the interest of the debt in the *present money* ; to lower the value of money would have been certain overthrow of this form of government in a year or two, and the other alternative he could not face. If he had repealed the *malt-tax*, he would have been in place now ; but, not having done that, he is as you see him.

So that, as to this man being *sent for by the King* ; or that man being *sent for by the King* ; it is all romance, or nonsense. What the King wants is a man that can pay the interest of this debt in full, in gold, with wheat at five shillings a bushel ; or at three-and-sixpence a bushel ; for, if the system can stand so long, to that price it may yet come. This is the man that the King wants ; and no other man is of any use to him ; and as such a man is not to be found under the canopy of heaven, he must either take one that will reduce the interest of the debt, sweep away the unjust swallowings of the church, and make the pension, sinecure, and half-pay lists pretty nearly sheets of blank paper ; or he must go on chopping and changing and patching, and muddling about in a state of utter uncertainty, until there be

nothing left worthy of the name of Government.

I have inserted, in another part of this *Register* all that I have been able to collect of the rumours of divers of the London newspapers, upon this subject of making a Ministry. These articles are very curious as matters to read now at this time ; but, sensible people like you, ought not to read them merely out of curiosity and for amusement. They all avoid the real causes that are at work. They all ascribe the various movements of different parties and persons to some motive, either of faction, greediness, ambition, revenge, or something or another of a merely personal nature. It is true that all these motives may exist, and do exist ; but they do not form an impediment to the forming of a Ministry. The impediment is, *the certainty of the difficulty of getting on*.

It is not disaffection, or faction, or dissent from the Church, that is producing this difficulty. Every man in Parliament feels that this thing cannot go on. When out of the House, he finds himself walking about amongst hundreds of thousands of insolvent farmers and tradesmen. He hears the cries of hunger and starvation amongst the working people : he goes into the House with the impression of these on his mind ; and unless he be one of those base and detestable wretches, who is content to owe his own luxurious living to the fruits of labour unjustly extorted, he cannot long continue to act contrary to the impressions thus made upon him. The reform of the Parliament, which reform was itself produced by this unbearable pressure from without, has put into the House of Commons a great many men, who cannot be prevailed upon long to continue to be deaf to complaints which they hear from every town. No matter what their "*politics*," as it is called : they must, and they will yield to the general voice of the people. Now, for instance, there is Mr. BOLLING of BOLTON, who is called a Tory ; there is Mr. WILLIAMS, Member for COVENTRY, who is called a Radical ; there is Mr. WALKER, of BURY, and Mr. PHILLIPS, of MANCHESTER, who are called Whigs ; the

two Members for BLACKBURN are called Tories; Mr. EWART and Mr. POTTER are called Whigs; my colleague is called a Radical, and Mr. HINDLEY is called a Whig.

Now, these are all rich men: they have all a great deal at stake; and they deserve what they have, because they have it by descent, or by earning. "*Party motives*" can never long operate with men like these: they never can long continue to be puppets moved by party-wires: they never can, for any length of time, be content to give their votes for the mere purpose of putting one man into place, or another man out of place. They have had given to them, or have taken to themselves nick-names; there is a difference in what is called their "*politics*"; but their fair and just, and honest, and all-commanding interests are precisely the same; these interests; the preservation of their property; the safety of their families; everything dear to them in the world is bound up with the peace and well-being of the commonwealth. They, and all that resemble them in the House (and there are great numbers of them), are persons of great experience, constant intercourse with persons engaged in similar pursuits: they are men accustomed to calculate consequences, and it is impossible that they should *long continue* to persevere in a course hostile to their permanent interests.

These, and all such men, must perceive, that their ultimate safety depends on a *very great change* being made in the carrying on of the affairs of the country; they must perceive that, if such change be not made by law, it will, finally, be made without law; and that, in this latter case, the risk that they must run will be very great. No Minister, be he who or what he may, will have the support of such men from mere party motives. Hitherto, many of them have been led along by such motives; but they have now had time to reflect, and time to observe. They have got, by degrees, behind the curtain; the wranglings of the two factions have been too flagrant, and too despicable not to excite their disgust; they will rely more upon themselves than

upon leaders of any description; they look more to the merits of matters than to what can be said about them, on the one side or the other. They have heads much too steady to be bewildered the next morning by any flashy sophistry that they have heard the overnight. We are, in short, got by the days of Foxites and Pittites: there is a good stock of sense in a great portion of the members of the House; and when that sense comes to be acted upon, this system is at an end, and the nation is saved from a convulsion.

There is another respect, in which men of this description will be cured of their former follies; that is to say, the folly of regarding every man who complained of the conduct of the Government, as an enemy of the country itself, and of joining in the abuse and libels on every such man, not forgetting their joining in efforts to destroy every such man. The parliamentary reform, after twenty years of atrocious abuse upon every man who called for a reform, worked this cure, in a great measure. The brazen and insolent CANNING, and the equally brazen and insolent CASTLEREAGH, used to call us all "*bankrupts in reputation and in fortune.*" The end of these two brazen and insolent men was such as to admonish others not to follow their brazen and insolent example; and if it have not had its suitable and natural effect, it has done a good deal; and brazen insolence is rather out of vogue. That the reform was just and necessary is now evident to every one. In every such case there must be some men to take the lead of others. No grievance will ever be redressed; no reform can ever take place, if you insist that it shall not take place unless the whole of the community rise as one man and demand it. The reproaches on the very names of these brutal men ought never to cease; and he, whoever was their follower, deserves the hatred of all that know him, unless he repent of his conduct.

The audacity of these men, giving, as it did, countenance to others, retarded the reform of the Parliament, until it became a question whether it was not too late. The reform itself came; but the

consequences which the people expected from a reform did not come; they asked for reform that it might lighten their burdens, and put an end to the monstrous deviation from the ancient laws. Hitherto it has had no such effect, but the contrary. The burdens have not been lightened in the smallest degree; and the laws have been hardened as regards the working-people, and stretched to an extent that they never were before. Two factions are now openly battling for the possession of power; but neither faction offers any change to better the lot of the people: as far as relates to the treatment of the people the two factions cordially unite. This is what they always have done since I have known anything of them; but the circumstances in which they are doing it are new.

In the first place, the *people see* that they thus unite, which they did not use to see. In the next place, wheat is five shillings a bushel, instead of fifteen; in the next place, employment is wanted for the want of money to pay for it; and, in the next place, there is an American republic risen up, with a navy *powerful as our own*. The blue and buff may hector, and affect to laugh at this: I warned the Government of the consequences, full twenty years ago, and I may say five-and-twenty; and, if there were no other cause at work to produce a great change in England, the existence of that republican government would produce the change.

If you have not read my "*History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*"; that most big and "*beneficent*" Sovereign, of whose exploits on Virginia-water the newspapers used to give us such volumes of Royal reports: if you have not read it, I will not say do read it, because to read it you must buy it; but, whenever you do read it, you will find that you had a pleasure to come; for there you will find the mystery of the last American war (which cost us seventy millions of money), completely developed. You will there find that it arose out of a desire on the part of our Government "to put down, *for ever*, that example of "*successful democratical rebellion*." This was not worthy of the name of *fore-*

sight; it was *instinct* (and it required nothing more) that taught it, that, if *that thing* stood, **THIS THING** could not stand long. And, instinct, always a pretty true teacher, kept to its character here. It was impossible that the existence of a Government like that, producing effects such as that produces: the people being merely another English people; carrying out English laws with them, and adhering to those laws; it was impossible that that thing, the civil government of which costs, annually, less than **WEL-LINGTON** alone costs annually; it was impossible that that should exist; and that **THIS THING** should exist along with it for any length of time. This was so obvious, that the grounds of the late war with America need to be looked for nowhere else.

But, the war failed. The English on the other side of the sea beat our **THING**, and brought it down to their own terms of peace. This is the fatal fact, that there is now a country able to fight us single-handed on the seas; and that this is known to all the world: a country too economical to appoint an admiral, while we are paying two hundred and fifty admirals. A nation that has once been great must continue to be great, or must become nearly extinguished. When the mastiff which had long ruled the streets of the town, and had made every dog flee at his approach, happened to get his teeth kicked out by a horse, he became an object of attack with, and slunk away from, even the lap-dogs. He had become *civil*: he had wholly left off his bullying and threatening; but that was not enough; his teeth were gone; and his former injustice and insolence were remembered.

What, then, is our situation? With two hundred and fifty admirals, and four hundred and fifty generals; with an annual military and naval expenditure of about twelve millions of pounds sterling a year in gold, every man of information in this country, and every statesman in every other country, knows, as well as he knows that fire burns, that we are unable to make even preparations for a serious war, and to continue, for only one half year, and to pay, in *gold*, the interest of

that debt, which every succeeding Minister tells us we shall continue to pay!

Is this a situation for England to be in? And, when we look at Russia over-running Turkey; when we look at the American squadron, poking its prows about, where an English ship dares not to go; when we look at these things, who will say, that we are not in somewhat the situation of the mastiff, with his teeth knocked out by the kick of a horse!

Well, then, are we to be sorry for this greatness of the American people? Flat and plain, *I am not!* I am sorry, and right sorry, that England is brought down to her present state; but, as I used to tell CASTLEREAGH, when he was in the everlasting habit of calling those enemies of the country, who protested against his deeds; I used to tell him, that he argued as if *he* was the country; I used to tell him that he was not the country; that I might like the country and hate him, which I did; that he might die (which he did, you know), and that the country would still live. And, my friends of OLDHAM, do not you, I pray you, be carried away by the notion, that the admirals and generals and pensioners and parsons are England. We have some small portion of our liberty, and of our civil and political rights to *preserve*, and a much larger portion to *regain*. If the greatness of the American nation tend to this preservation and this regaining; then we ought to wish for that greatness not only to continue, but to increase. Never mind "*glory*"; we are tasting the sweets of *glory* now. What WATERLOO has done for us we now know pretty well; but, bad as our lot is, it would have been ten thousand times worse, if that be possible, if our Government had succeeded in overturning the Government of America; and there are many of you who will recollect, that this was the light in which I always saw the matter, from the very dawn of the last American war.

This our situation with regard to foreign nations, must be one of the difficulties which every sensible man must see in the carrying on of the affairs of the Government. Little as most of the government-people seem to *think*, upon any occasion, a man cannot become Mi-

nister, one would think, without reflecting on this branch of the difficulties, which presents itself to him thus: Let what injury may be inflicted upon the country by any foreign nation; let our merchant ships be burnt out at sea; let the Isle of Wight be invaded; I must suffer it all, or be guilty of a breach of that to which I give the sacred name of "*national faith*." He must see this difficulty, if he see no other; for though we are still at peace at the end of twenty years, it is within the compass of possibility that we may not be at peace another month, unless in the manner that I have supposed.

The debt, therefore, and the monstrously expensive establishments are the difficulty; and no man has courage enough to encounter this difficulty with a view to overcome it. So that at last here we are, in the high tide of experiencing all the effects of the glorious Waterloo-war, as compensation for having been a commander in which we have given a man a million of money, or thereabouts; and for having opposed which war so many Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, were ruined, imprisoned, several of them dying in prison. We have now that "*reckoning*" to pay, the effects of which payment I described to the insolent CASTLEREAGH at the conclusion of the peace, at the very moment that the tax-eaters, and the fifteen-shillings-a-bushel farmers, were roasting sheep and oxen by scores, to celebrate the "*conquest of France*." I remember how blithe the parsons were upon that occasion! I remember how they taunted everybody that had been opposed to a continuation of the war; I remember one of them saying to me, "We have beat you at last"; to which I answered, "Take you care, get as much for tithes as you can, and keep the money, for those who have lent their money to carry on this war will make you give up your tithes." If he be alive, which I believe he is, he will now perhaps remember what I told him. When you have read my "*Legacy to Parsons*," which is so concise and so cheap, that I expect many of you to do it, you will exclaim: "Good God! how can these monstrous abuses have existed all this while! How can they have

"remained unknown all this while"! Oh dear, no: they have not been unknown all this while. They have always been known, and very well known; their monstrousness, going beyond the powers of serious censure, has become a subject of ridicule. They have been perfectly well known; but the people in general, never having been in such a state of insolvency and misery before, it never having before been proposed to make the working people live upon a "*coarser sort of food*," this prodigious mass of misapplied public property was suffered to remain undisturbed; but now horrid want is driving the people to look about them everywhere, to see what they can muster up. Did you never see a lot of sheep put into a field of good grass? How contented they are; with what satisfaction they walk about, or lie down! As the grass shortens they get less and less happy. The next stage is, they butt one another about, and quarrel for the best patches. As unsatisfied hunger comes on, they seek the high mounds, and look over the hedges, and through the gates. Unable to scale the fence perhaps, they look out for breaches in it. First they put in their nose; next the head; there needs nothing more: the body of the leader follows, and the flock follow him; and woe unto the pasture, or turnips, or anything else that first comes in contact with their jaws. "Nothing," says Lord Bacon, "is so dangerous as rebellion of the belly." Our finance-people are somewhat in the state of this flock of sheep: they are looking over all the hedges in the field, to find out something to get at; and as the church is the fattest pasture, and protected by the weakest fence, we hear even Sir ROBERT PEEL proposing a church-reform and a commutation of tithes: and we hear Lord JOHN RUSSELL proposing to go at once and take part of its pasture away; he calls it appropriating it: yes, as the aforesaid sheep would appropriate a field of turnips. He, to be sure, would not take the tithes away if the flock were sufficient; or rather, if the flock now in the field stood in need of them: but alas! what is this but one farmer saying to another, "Your flock is too small for your field, my field is

"too small for my flock: I will therefore pen you off a corner, and turn my flock into the rest." Nothing could produce this but sheer hard necessity, nothing but the pressure of irresistible want; that is the pressure under which this Government is now staggering along; and hence the difficulty of men agreeing as to whether they shall undertake to carry it on or not.

I have thus, my friends, endeavoured to give you a correct view of the real causes of these changes in the Ministry, and of the difficulty at present existing to the forming of a new one; and I will now show you what the several newspapers of London say upon the subject, which, as I said before, will serve to amuse you at the present time, and will thus be conveniently at hand for us to refer to in future.

I remain,

Your faithful friend,

And most obedient servant.

WM. COBBETT.

WRANGLING FACTIONS!

I AM indebted to the "*True Sun*" for the following most exquisite wranglings. They contain some good writing, and some bad writing; but really the "*Old Bloody*" seems to be bloodier than ever; and some of the rest of them seem to be half mad. The papers that have come to-day, that is to say, the papers of the 14. of April, tell us, that Lord MELBOURNE is to be Prime Minister, and Mr. SPRING RICE is to be Chancellor of the Exchequer! I said it would go on thus; and thus it must go on, downhill, till we come at last to the point that I have so often described. It would seem that Mr. O'CONNELL has declined taking any post in the Ministry; and that he is to place himself at the back of the new Ministers. Now, all that I can say about this matter is, that I believe that he is firmly convinced that he is doing that which is best for his country; and if this change really has produced the appointment of Mr. Sergeant PERRIN, as they say it has, in that respect it is good. This affair altogether decides the fate of the

Irish church, at the least; and goes a great way towards doing that which my petition prayed for in 1829.

(From the Spectator.)

The forming of a new administration, at the present time, will be a task of great responsibility and some difficulty. The Ministry must be thoroughly liberal, otherwise it will speedily fall like its predecessor, only with a deeper disgrace. But to maintain such a Ministry against the opposition it must expect to encounter, will be no child's play. This will appear from a brief survey of the parties who will be leagued together for its hindrance or destruction.

First, there is the court, the angry, baffled court. The King himself is a man of stronger prejudices than judgment; and, sailor as he is, he probably inherits some portion of his father's turn for finesse. At least, on a retrospect from the period of Lord Grey's accession to office, it is difficult to believe that he ever cordially supported liberal men or measures on any fixed principle. He seems always to have countenanced, or at least allowed, a "back stairs" or secret influence to counteract the policy of the responsible advisers of the crown. Earl Grey himself felt this drawback on his power to serve the country; but it proved the means of destroying the Melbourne cabinet, for the abrupt dismissal of which, no one valid public reason has to this hour been offered. The "back stairs" influence is neither propitiated nor subdued, though it may be abashed or alarmed for the moment. The unhappy prejudices which prompted the Sovereign to listen to the leaders of the Tory faction, cannot have been removed by the ill success of the attempt to gratify them. William "the Reformer" cannot be counted on as the natural, *bona fide* ally of a reform Government.

Secondly, the liberal Ministry will have a large majority of the House of Peers arrayed against it. The obstructive power of the Lords need not be dwelt upon. That they will use it so as to annoy a national administration, who can doubt?

We know which party in the long run will lose most by this game; but, in the meanwhile, the House of Peers presents a formidable obstacle to any ministry which refuses to cringe to its prejudices and sacrifice the good of the community to its exclusive interests.

Thirdly, in the House of Commons the Tory minority will be exceedingly numerous. If the Ministers are enabled to bring together a working majority, it will only be by the steady exertions of all their friends. They must be prepared for bitter opposition; for all the arts and malignity of a defeated faction, eager to annoy the victors, and possessing the power of annoyance to a great extent.

Fourthly, the strength of the Tory party in the country must not be overlooked. It was hoped that the Reform Act had prostrated it for ever; but late events have proved this to be a mistake. The wealth, the zeal and activity, even the numbers of this party, though still a minority, were displayed at the last election. It possesses allies in all parts of the country, in all the departments of state, in the church, the magistracy, in the army and navy, and wherever the hope of profiting by misgovernment exists. We have had fair warning that one defeat will not discourage the Tories from making other efforts to recover the ground they lost by the Reform Act.

Enough has been said to indicate the formidable nature of the opposition which a liberal ministry will have to struggle against. It is plain that it can only hope to contend successfully against such a combination by adopting principles of government which the nation approves of, and which the Reformers of the House of Commons are bound to uphold. The majority of the national representatives are agreed upon the great principles on which the country should be governed; the principles, namely, of the Reform Act; which, as Mr. Sergeant Wilde correctly laid them down, are "to bring the public institutions of the country under proper control by purifying the representation; to renew these institutions, and to ascertain how far they answer the purposes for which they were originally devised; and to make such ad-

terations in them as the operation of time and circumstances may have rendered necessary."

An administration based on these principles, and acting honestly and consistently upon them, will be secure of the support of the majority of the House of Commons. If it is said, that men who profess to agree on general principles, yet frequently are found to disagree among themselves, as to the mode of carrying out those principles, we answer that this remark can hardly apply to the majority of the present House of Commons; as upon the two grand questions of ecclesiastical and municipal reform, there is no variance of opinion worth notice, the men of extreme opinions being, as Mr. O'Connell intimated, ready to enter into a compromise with those who refuse to go as far as they would go, for the sake of securing a certain amount of actual good. There are differences on minor points, however, among the Reformers who now act together; and there always must be differences among men who really act upon principle. The Tories never allow their principles to interfere with the prospect of place. They are ever ready to band themselves together, in order, as Burke said, "to sell their conjunct iniquity at a higher rate." But the Reformers are not place-hunters. They can "afford to keep consciences," and therefore they are less serviceable as parliamentary troops than the Tories. Now we are far from wishing any individual to abandon or compromise a single principle which he deems important or valuable. If common prudence is used in forming the new Ministry, there needs not arise the least danger to it from allowing every Reformer to advocate the measures he approves of. The questions on which the whole party is not agreed should not be cabinet questions, but open ones. For instance, let Ministers allow motions for triennial parliaments, vote by ballot, and the alteration of the corn laws, to be discussed without the interference of Government. They ought not to be carried or rejected as mere party questions. By adopting this rule on these, and some others, almost all the difficulty and embarrassment which the Tories hope

to see arise in the ranks of the liberal Ministry, will be avoided.

But although there is no reason why the liberal Members should abandon or compromise their opinions, the most ardent of them will be disposed to reflect that the new Ministry must stand on very different ground from that of Earl Grey or Lord Melbourne in the House of Commons. Those statesmen were backed by such immense majorities, that an occasional defeat did not endanger the existence of their ministries. The case will be different with the next administration. It will be important to avoid giving an excuse to the court, such as a parliamentary defeat would supply, to turn out the Liberals again, on the pretence that the House of Commons had declared against them. The anti-Tories of all classes will therefore act warily; they will forbear to distress a liberal Ministry, even when that Ministry does not go as far or as fast as might be desirable; they will administer reproof, when needed, in a friendly tone, and with a regard to the pressing difficulties of the ministerial position: in short, they will adopt Charles Fox's maxim, and give a little to a friend rather than all to an enemy. If this disposition is manifested by the different sections of the Liberals, for a reasonable time, we may safely defy the Tories; but, in the actual condition of affairs mutual concession is necessary. What would have been safe and politic last spring, when the Tories could not muster 150 votes, would be hazardous and unpatriotic conduct in the face of a Tory minority of almost double that number. It is a great point gained to have turned out the Duke and his colleagues: for the present let us strive to fortify our new position.

With regard to the personnel of the new Government, there seems to be a general, and as it appears to us, a reasonable desire to see Lord Melbourne restored to the post of Premier, and to give him "a fair trial." The country believed that he was sincere in his avowed intention to remove the abuses of our ecclesiastical and corporate systems, and (to use his own words when addressing his neighbours at Melbourne) "to do as much as was sufficient, as much as would

have remedied the most pressing evils; as much as could have been digested and matured; as much as in all circumstances it could be considered safe, prudent, and practicable to effect." If Lord Melbourne will only strive to act up to the system of conducting the government here laid down, he may rely upon giving satisfaction to this most reasonable, patient, and candid people.

Earl Grey has been mentioned as likely to take part in the new administration, not as Premier, for which the infirmities of age unfit him, but in some honourable office, such as President of the Council, to which no laborious duties belong. But we scarcely expect, certainly do not desire, to see Lord Grey again in the responsible station of a Cabinet Minister. We look upon his Ministerial course as completed. He has twice, once in the House of Peers, and again after an interval of reflection at the Edinburgh dinner, taken solemn leave of official life. This was a wise course. The public at once resolved to sink the recollection of the faults of his administration; under some of which the country is yet labouring, and dwell only on the benefits he had conferred. Who among his real friends and well-wishers would desire to direct public attention to the faulty system which Earl Grey pursued when Premier, and which, by rendering the Reformers dissatisfied, prepared the way for the recent agitation of the country by the Tories? It would be suspected, should the course of the new Ministry, especially in dealing with the House of Lords, be timid and vacillating, that Earl Grey was to blame for it. It would be said, that as he came forward five years ago to give us the maximum of Reform, he is now put into the cabinet as a Conservative to give the minimum. This would be a sad detraction from his high reputation. The suspicion might be unjust and unfounded; but it would be felt, and at present we see no sufficient reason for exposing Earl Grey to it, justly or unjustly.

Lord Brougham is also best out of the new Government. This seems to be the almost universal opinion. He may be of service as an independent member of the House of Peers; but he has been proved

to be deficient in the qualities necessary to make a good judge or a useful Minister. He has other qualities which have rendered him eminent, and may continue to make him a distinguished and valuable member of the legislature; but if he regards his future fame he will eschew office.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

Hardly had Lord Melbourne received the King's commands, before Tories went about, observing, with elation, that the negotiations made no progress, and imagining "insuperable difficulties." On Saturday they looked at their watches, and knowingly said, "What! no ministry yet?" as if an age had been wasted in an abortive attempt. These gentlemen do not play their part well. If the event were to correspond with their wishes, it would be supposed that there was more of privity than of prophecy in their very early knowledge of what was not to be, and that the "insuperable difficulties" had been settled from the first. Why should the Tories require such dispatch in the construction of a Liberal ministry? They have not set the example of rapidity in the completion of their arrangements. Rome was not reached in a day by the Queen's Page. The Liberals, though they have not to send to Italy for a chief, may beg to be allowed something more than eight-and-forty hours for the construction of a government. It must be remembered that Lord Melbourne cannot make use of the expedients of the Duke of Wellington. If, like his Grace, he could dispense with responsible colleagues, and parcel himself out into the principal offices of State, he might form a provisional government in a trice, and a cabinet at leisure. It would be a convenience to a party, always to have an important member of it on his travels on the Continent, so that any delay might be attributed to his absence, and the time for bringing him home gained for contrivance. But these advantages are confined to the Tories.

If we are to believe some of the stories of their partisans, they have other privileges peculiar to themselves and

unknown to the constitution, and in withdrawing from the King's councils may leave behind them a barrier to the success of those who may be summoned to succeed them. It is currently boasted that his Majesty's late advisers counselled him to make a firm stand against the principle of appropriation, the creation of peers, and the employment of Mr. O'Connell. If this be true (and, as it is reported by the Tories, we must admit that the probability is infinitely great against its truth), the ex-ministry has carried its powers beyond its responsibilities, and must be accountable for the transgression. The ear of the King is abused by any official advice which extends beyond the administration of the adviser, and puts a *veto* on the counsels of a successor, or may make it impossible for any others to undertake office. A resignation is a farce, a deceit, a mockery, if the party withdrawing can persuade the King to refuse the necessary powers to their opponents. For what do they go out, if the principles under which they sunk are to remain in, citadeled, as it were, in the King's breast, and refusing the trust of Government to any who do not assent to them? This is surrendering the fortress and leaving a mine to explode under the conquerors. It would amount to this, that on quitting office the Tories, with their matchless modesty, had said to the King, "We go out because the House of Commons will have it so, but we pray your Majesty to suffer no others to come in, and we shall appear to be called back as matter of necessity; and should the Commons continue to oppose us, we will tell the country that the Reformers would neither serve your Majesty themselves nor let us serve you; and that the alternative is the Tories or no Government."

We repeat that we disbelieve the story that in resigning the Tories established impediments in the King's mind against the success of their opponents—that they have, in effect, left behind them a legacy in the royal will, cutting off the Opposition with a shilling to buy a halter. We have no faith in the report, because it is of Tory origin; but the mere fact that men of that party circulate such a rumour, true or false, without any percep-

tion of the character of the conduct described, nay, even making a boast of the abuse of opportunity, shows the unconstitutional extremities to which they are capable of going for the recovery of power. They have no notion that anything can be wrong which serves their ends. All their political morality is summed up in the self-interest of the party.

(From the Age.)

God save the constitution! It is useless any longer to blink the question. We stand on the brink of revolution! A little while, and we are plunged into the vortex of civil anarchy. Let us not be misunderstood when we use the term revolution, let not those who have hitherto regarded the mention of the phrase as an idle bugbear imagine, that when we raise the cry, that it is "wolf" in sport, not in earnest. No, we see in the aspect of affairs now, the avenue to the encrimsoned fields of anarchy open. The barriers have been broken down that have hitherto kept at bay the assaulters of the altar, the foes of the church are in the councils of the King, men who have vowed to roll the mitre in the dust, and snap the crosier, now mingle their shout of transport at the result of the victory that has driven the supporters of the Protestant cause from the cabinet, and thrust its declared enemies as advisers of a Protestant King. It is the beginning of a bloody end. With history before our eyes, we do not hesitate to aver our belief that should any check be given to the men of the movement, as check there must be given, should there be any stop offered to the stream of innovation that threatens to sweep away the Protestant institutions of the land, as stop there must be offered, that the inevitable consequence will be a deadly struggle between class and class, such as took place at the commencement of the French revolution. The majority of the late Opposition have recorded, both in the House and out of the House, that they desire, that they pant, for a sweeping, total, radical change in the existing orders of society. They care not for un-

settling the condition, they heed not if they derange the affairs, of every man who has property to defend, or the prospects of a family to respect and support. The Peers, the church, the funds, nay, the Crown itself, have been and are now each and all menaced by the banded gang of fierce democrats.

The Conservatives have hitherto alone, boldly, fearlessly, and loyally, resisted the unscrupulous and unprincipled faction: The mean, the dastard, the coward Whigs, for raging lust of place, solicited the embrace of the foul pests of Parliament. Dare the Whigs deny this? They cannot! Is it not true, that at the elections the Radical solicited his supporters to split with the Whig; and that in places where the Whig was the strongest, he threw his interest to the Destructive candidate? Is it not matter now of momentous record, that Whig and Radical banded together in the House; that men that whilom were vitally opposed, lent each other assistance in Parliament to form an opposition in common? No! It would add but another to the list of Whig mendacities for the hardest amongst them to deny these facts. Brookes's resounded with Whig Io-Pæans of grateful rejoicings, when a Conservative was discomfited and a Radical returned! What did every Whig, Whigling, and Whig organ in the empire, say when the first return was made? Was not a loud shout uttered by all with electric alacrity, when Daniel Whittle Harvey was elected for Southwark? Whittle Harvey! the man who, on more occasions than one, denounced, abused, and nearly beat on divisions, the pure Whig Ministry! Are not these facts? Think of these things, men of the empire: and then ask yourselves, Can the Whigs maintain themselves a little month in power, if they do not bend to the will of such as have helped them to the victory? As the London drayman remarked, that were it not for malt and hops London porter would not be a bit better than Thames water; so, if it were not for the Radicals and the Tail, the late opposition would have contained no ingredient or element of strength.

What will they do, therefore? is the

anxious query throughout the empire. The answer is obvious. They must do what a ministry leagued with Revolutionists must do; they must become avowed, as they have been long concealed, Revolutionists themselves. The Whigs are bringing about a fearful crisis, but the apprehension must not daunt the loyal. The spirit of the true tar rises with the roaring of the storm. He does his duty like a man, whether he encounters the enemy or the element. He knows the result lies in the hands of that Almighty Power, to whom no appeal is made in vain in the darkest hour of human adversity; and in that Power he trusts. Such should be the conduct; such, we feel assured, will be the conduct; as it is the holy duty, of the Conservatives at the present crisis. In the coming struggle for the destruction or preservation of the institutions of Protestant England, no man can tell whether his life or his fortune will be safe. Let them, one and all, have the devotion and the courage of true patriots, and rally round the altar and the throne. There are hundreds of thousands of Abdiels in the empire; there are "few faithless amongst the faithful."

Let every one stand forth and record their loyalty by petitioning the King to declare whether he will put his Royal prerogative into force, and use the powerful words *le Roi s'avisera* on any measure that endangers the stability and efficiency of the Protestant Church in this Protestant realm. Let us hear from the monarch's lips the assurance that he is still the unflinching "Defender of the Protestant Faith;" and all may yet be right.

In the mean time, Petition!—Petition!—Petition!!

(From the Times.)

The people of England ought to be made aware in time, of a case on which the Russell cabinet is now sitting, and in the decision of which case, the King of England and all his subjects are, we grieve to say, too deeply interested. Every one knows that the delay and difficulty hitherto experienced by Lord

Melbourne in his attempt to form a Whig-Radical administration have arisen from the servile fear entertained by his lordship's party, and shared by Lord Melbourne himself, of the repeal agitator O'Connell.

Intelligence, which we fear may be true, states, that this conspirator against the King's dominion over Ireland knows the length of his own tail, and has contrived to get the length of another person's foot also. He has sent in to Lord Melbourne an abstract of the terms on which only he will grant a capitulation to the Whigs, and save them from the necessity of replacing Sir R. Peel in the post from which, by their short-sighted intrigues, they have removed him.

Listen, Englishmen, to the proposals of this enemy to your name and nation.

As the price of supporting a Whig Radical government, he insists that the law-officers of the Crown in Ireland shall be nominated by him (O'Connell)!! He insists that he (O'Connell) shall have a veto on the appointment of the Viceroy, the King's representative in Ireland! He strongly urges that the elective franchise in Ireland shall be lowered to 5*l*.; that he, O'Connell (not having yet power enough over the Irish constituency, which has returned nearly 50 members at his bidding), may be enabled to command a sufficient number of votes to give stability to the Whig-Radical government.

The Agitator does not ask to be appointed himself to office. He is too cunning for that, first, the King has the sense and firmness resolutely to refuse it; second, if the King were willing to receive into his service the bitter enemy to his Irish crown, Mr. Daniel O'Connell knows very well that the honour would cost him a higher price than it could by possibility repay; that he would lose by it his despotic sway over the multitude, and with it his infamous but enormous rent; and lastly, that instead of being at the mercy of the Whig Ministers, by their powers of discarding him from office on misbehaviour, he would hold a scourge over them, by threatening, whenever the spirit moved him, to withdraw from them his parliamentary support, and leave them in a minority.

But, great Heaven! do we live to see the day when such a negotiation can be entered upon by any nobleman or gentleman having access to his Majesty's presence with a man of O'Connell's history, political principles, and projects? Can, we ask, any Minister, or candidate Minister of the British Crown, dare so much as to whisper within the Royal hearing the demands of such an adventurer upon his Majesty's patience, and on the honour and dignity of the people of this great country? What! name the law-officers of the Crown, and have for his creatures those individuals whose official duty it may become to begin their functions, as public prosecutors, by a criminal process against their own patron!

What! restrain the Sovereign of the British empire from nominating for Lord Lieutenant of Ireland any nobleman to whom this turbulent and scheming Papist shall object!

A British Minister, representing a *once English* party permitting a demagogue like this to force upon him a pressure almost tantamount to universal suffrage, on pretence of enabling the said mob tyrant to serve more completely the Administration of to-day, when, after having acquired through such extension of the suffrage a dominion over the electors of 90 out of 100 representatives, he may to-morrow play upon the fears and profligacy of his ministerial menials, and drive them into the perpetration of any political crimes, however deadly in their consequences, to the peace, the unity, and safety of the realm, on pain of being, by a nod of this "infernal Jupiter," at once hurled out of office.

We cannot, we dare not, indulge the mingled terror and humiliation which tidings like those conveyed to us in the course of yesterday, and to the effect above stated, have raised within our minds. If the Whig Lords, who have so far listened to O'Connell, plead the hard necessity of their condition, and exclaim, "What can we do! how can we form our Ministry without his help?" our answer, and, if we mistake not, the answer of all England will be, "Then do not form your Ministry." The hardship of the case upon these ambitious personages is, that for-

sooth they are urged on to disgrace and crime by a necessity of their own creating, by a party necessity; a factious necessity; a necessity of which no honest Englishman admits or sees the pressure, beyond the pale of their own Whig-Radical clique. Who asked them, by a succession of factious votes, to turn out the Minister of the King's free choice, that they might seize his power? They say it is "necessary" to their Cabinet, that they should serve implicitly O'Connell's will; in other words, it is more necessary that church and state, and Protestant Ireland, and the existence of the empire, should be sacrificed beyond redemption, than that the Whig leaders and their Radical confederates should remain for six months longer out of office. Once more, and in all sincerity, and in bitterness of heart, we appeal to our countrymen, whether they will thus allow a band of selfish place hunters to roll the crown of the United Kingdom in the dust.

(From the Standard.)

We are not aware that any definite arrangement of the new Ministry had been completed this morning; but we believe that the great principle of submission to Mr. O'Connell was yielded as early as Saturday. Whether the concession will be ratified by the King is another question. If the terms, which we understand have been demanded by the Irish incendiary, and granted by the person engaged in the subordinate duty of manufacturing a Cabinet, should eventually be approved of by the King, his Majesty would do much better to cede the crown of Ireland to the *pseudo*-representative for Dublin. These terms are stated to be no less than the following, viz., Mr. O'Connell to be a Privy Councillor in Ireland forthwith, and a Privy Councillor in England after a short interval. Mr. O'Connell to have a veto upon the appointment of the Irish Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Attorney and Solicitor-General in the sister kingdom, the judges in Ireland, and all public functionaries of the higher classes, except the bishops of the established

church. It is probably thought, as the church is doomed to a speedy extinction in the sister island, the advantage of Mr. O'Connell's negative upon bishops would not countervail the scandal. It is farther yielded by the Whig negociator, that the elective franchise in Ireland shall be extended to 5*l.* freeholders, expressly in order to enable Mr. O'Connell to increase that personal Popish influence by which he has beaten Sir R. Peel from office, and overborne the votes of a majority of the electors of Great Britain!

Do our readers believe that we are romancing in describing these terms? We solemnly assure them that we are not; and a little reflection must satisfy every one that terms less disgraceful and atrocious will not content, and ought not to content, Mr. O'Connell, to whose terms the Whig negociators must submit, or at once abandon the attempt to form an administration. Mr. O'Connell cannot take any ostensible office, because he could not receive the emoluments of office and the wages of sedition at the same time; the wages of sedition, "the rent," being higher by many thousand pounds a-year than the emoluments of the highest office which the crown could confer. The tenure of "the rent," too, is undoubtedly better than the tenure of any office under a Whig administration. If it is supposed that Mr. O'Connell might take office with an assured revival of "the rent" upon his dismissal, they who entertain such an hypothesis must forget the slow and artful process by which this tribute has been arrived at. It was many, very many years disguised as a collection for general purposes, before Mr. O'Connell openly seized upon it as a personal property.

Mr. O'Connell does not forget this, though others may; and he will never allow any interruption in the collection of "the rent," because he knows well that such interruption would be fatal, while any office for which the tribute could be exchanged must be of much less value or of very short duration. But though Mr. O'Connell cannot take office from the Whigs, he knows the feeling and position of that party too well not to demand power of them. He remembers Lord

positive refusal of this application, was, we are told, returned on the same evening; nor to this hour, says our information, has the noble Earl done more than promise his Parliamentary support to the Government, and that upon the understanding that a certain class of measures shall not be adopted, nor a certain class of persons (it is easy to imagine them) employed. As for the continuance of harmony between a cabinet and its supporters, when Lord Grey is on one side of it, and Messrs. O'Connell, Hume, &c. &c. on the other, he must be a driveller who expects it. The same Mr. Hume, it seems, will not have the good fortune to "estimate" himself into a place, nor will Lord Brougham, another great performer, be, if report say true, in any better predicament.

A FAIR SPECIMEN OF TORY MALIGNITY.

(From the *Morning Herald*.)

The public will not be much enlightened by what took place in the House of Commons last night with regard to the progress made in the formation of a new Ministry. It will be seen from our Parliamentary report that the difficulties which we described as standing in the way of the Ministerial arrangements had not been overcome yesterday, and that to give time to bring the slow and painful process of constructing a cabinet of Whig-Radical materials to a close, Sir Robert Peel moved an adjournment of the House. He merely prefaced the motion by saying that he "had received an intimation from his Majesty that arrangements for the formation of a new Ministry were in progress, but not finally completed, and he could not, therefore, doubt, that the same motives which had induced the House to agree to a short adjournment on a former day, in consideration of inconvenience to the public service, would induce them to agree to his motion," which was agreed to accordingly, and the House stands adjourned to Thursday.

Had the Whigs succeeded in breaking down Sir Robert Peel's administration by their own strength, and upon their own principles, they would have now

comparatively easy work in constructing a cabinet out of their own party, but having, for the sake of getting back into office, abandoned every principle which they had formerly professed to hold sacred, and having courted the fatal alliance of English destructives and Irish repealers to promote their ambitious views, they now find themselves meshed in difficulties of their own contrivance, which it was much more easy for their ingenuity to weave than to unravel—nor are they any longer free agents. They invoked the aid of that evil spirit of Irish agitation, whose iron grasp is now upon them, and whose price they are called upon to pay. That evil spirit which ministered to their ambition is now become their task-master, and they must either submit to the castigation of the power whose unholy assistance they invoked, or reduce the throne to the state of bondage and humiliation to which they have subjected themselves. What a difference between the Whigs of 1688 and of 1835! The former, the champions of the Protestant church, and of Protestant liberties—the latter leagued with the bitter and implacable enemies of both—with English levellers and Romish intolerants, who hope before very long to be able to push aside their Whig allies altogether, and to scramble into power over the degradation of the crown and the ruins of the constitution.

Already has the organ of the party in Ireland, the Popish press, threatened open rebellion if Earl Grey should be chosen by the Sovereign to preside over the new cabinet, because it is known that the noble Earl is not so disposed, as many others of his party, to succumb to the dictation of the repeal-agitator. "Mr. O'Connell," says the Whig-radical papers, "acts in the most disinterested manner, and keeps aloof from all intrigue." Whoever believes this must have such a reason for his faith as Tertullian gave, *Credo quia impossibilis est*. To a person of such rampant credulity there would be nothing incredible in asserting that the leopard can change his spots or the Æthiop his skin. In the meantime the Popish press uses such language as the following to show that

there is a total absence of any endeavour, on the part of the Papal and repeal faction, to coerce or intimidate the King in the choice of his Ministers—"Let the truth be spoken out at once—Lord Grey is hated in Ireland. His very name is abhorred by the coerced people of this country, whom he ruled with a rod of iron—and in forging new chains for whom he broke up his cabinet. No, no, we have had enough of the tyrant in friend's garb, and if oppression is still to be our lot, let us in resistance—for in that case we will resist—have an open foe to encounter. What! submit again to Draco's rule?—never—rather let every man, woman, and child in Ireland perish." This is what the Popish press of Ireland says of Lord Grey—the father of the Reform Act—the steady and persevering advocate of the Roman Catholic claims during the whole of his political career—the compatriot of Fox, and the friend of civil and religious liberty. Why then does the Popish press thus denounce and proscribe him? Simply because it is well known that he has too much of the spirit and dignity of an English patrician patriot to allow himself to be made the "cat's-paw" of the repeal-agitator, who "never intrigues, and who acts from the most disinterested motives." But were Lord Grey as willing as some of his Whig friends to sacrifice his independence and his principles to secure the political support of the agitator and his "tail," we should not hear of his name being held in abhorrence by the Popish party—nor would the report of his coming again into power operate as a signal to the Popish-press to pass upon him a sentence of excommunication from the councils of his sovereign.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

We trust that another attempt will not soon be made by the Tories to agitate the country and paralyse trade, in order to recover what the Reform Bill has transferred to the middle classes. This great nation ought not to be considered as existing merely for the gratification of Tory ambition. It is time that it should be known that the object of government is the welfare of the governed, and that

welfare ought not to be exposed to hazard by wanton dismissals of Ministers, merely to gratify court intrigues and Tories desirous of incomes at the public expense.

The *Times*, that most consistent and honest journal, has been labouring hard for some days to sow divisions among the Reformers. Yesterday it seems to have had a suspicion that its exertions in this respect have been thrown away, for much indignation is expressed at the prospect of Lord Melbourne's success in overcoming the difficulties in the way of forming a Ministry.

"If (says our contemporary) the Whig Lords, who have so far listened to O'Connell, plead the hard necessity of their condition, and exclaim, 'What can we do? how can we form our Ministry without his help?' Our answer, and if we mis take not, the answer of all England will be, 'Then do not form your Ministry.' The hardship of the case upon these ambitious personages is, that, forsooth, they are urged on to disgrace and crime by a necessity of their own creating; by a party necessity; a factious necessity; a necessity of which no honest Englishman admits or sees the pressure, beyond the pale of their own Whig-Radical clique. Who asked them, by a succession of factious votes, to turn out the Minister of the King's free choice, that they might seize his power?"

Who asked the Tories to advise the King to dismiss the Melbourne administration last November? The country was in the enjoyment of the utmost prosperity: the Tories testified to the wisdom of the foreign policy of their predecessors, by declaring that it should be continued. The Melbourne Ministry possessed the confidence of the nation, and of the representatives of the nation. Why, then, was this Ministry wantonly dismissed, Parliament dissolved at the close of its second session, and the country exposed to the agitation of an election? The only intelligible answer is, that the Tories hoped to obtain a majority in the new Parliament, by means of which, if they should not succeed in damaging the Reform Bill, they might yet succeed in withholding from the nation the improve-

ments on which it calculated. The Reformers defeated this notable project by returning a majority; and this majority, to which the nation is so much indebted, is termed by the apostate *Times* a factious majority. Where should we have been by this time without this majority?

"Who asked them, by a succession of "factious votes, to turn out the minister "of the King's free choice?" Who advised the King to dismiss the representatives of the people's choice at the close of the second session? Have the people of this country no voice with regard to their own affairs? The people are not, surely, the property of the King. The prerogative is given to the King for the benefit of the people, and it ought not to be capriciously exercised. The people thought that the dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry was a capricious and unjustifiable exercise of the prerogative, and they returned representatives to Parliament pledged to oppose the men who, for their own sinister ends, abused the confidence of the Crown. They are the enemies of the King as well as of the people, who advise such an exercise of the prerogative as excites alarm and distrust throughout the country.

What a history is that of the *Times* during the course of the last twelve months. At first Lord Stanley, the Duke of Richmond, Sir James Graham, and Lord Ripon, were, day after day, assailed as enemies of the people, because they were opposed to the reform of the Irish church, and more particularly to the appropriation of its surplus wealth to national purposes. Earl Grey, too, was exhorted to rid himself of these colleagues as the cause of the unpopularity of his government. Nothing could exceed the satisfaction expressed by the *Times* at the resignation of the above individuals, and the introduction into the cabinet of men of a more liberal character. In these days the *Times* was all for movement. On the resignation of Earl Grey, and the modification of the cabinet occasioned by the elevation of Lord Melbourne to the premiership, the *Times* gave it to be understood, that though its satisfaction was great, that satisfaction would have been increased had men of a still more liberal

caste been admitted into the cabinet. That Ministry, however, was wantonly dismissed, without having done any one act to forfeit the confidence of the country. But the treacherous *Times*, which had, up to the moment of the dismissal, been constantly calling for decided and vigorous measures, instantly wheeled round to the Tories, and at first pretended to support them because they would carry reform further in church and state, and more particularly in the church of Ireland, than was ever contemplated by the Whigs. And now that brazen-faced prostitute has the audacity to raise the cry of the church is in danger, because a resolution has been carried in favour of the appropriation which itself so strenuously advocated. Though it had never failed to abuse Lord Grey for not dismissing Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, &c., it had the impudence to declare of late that on account of the loss of strength and character occasioned by their loss, the Melbourne ministry was properly dismissed. "Once more, and in all sincerity (!) and in bitterness of heart (says our contemporary), we appeal to our countrymen whether they will thus allow a band of selfish place-hunters to roll the crown of the united kingdom in the dust." This from the journal which treated Lord Grey as an imbecile last summer, because he did not bully the King in the most barefaced manner! His lordship was told, by way of encouragement, that he was grievously mistaken if his delicacy proceeded from an idea that he was held in any respect at court.

And yet this most perfidious and treacherous of journals has the assurance to talk of its sincerity! Sincerity, indeed! They must be drivellers, truly, who have any faith in the sincerity and honesty of the *Times*.

DEEDS OF THE WHIGS,

AND

PARALLEL OF THE TWO FACTIONS.

(Continued from page 55).

May 5, 1834. Mr. D. W. Harvey made a motion in the House of Commons with a view to the abolition of all

unmerited pensions, many of which are, of course, given to *females*, and, in some cases, for *quite unknown services* rendered by them.

Lord Althorp, the WHIG CHANCELLOR of the *Exchequer*, opposed the motion, as being one "calling for that to be done" which no man of GENTLEMANLY FEELING "would consent to do." He said that "persons on the pension-list had a right, established by custom, to be continued on it; and the present Government had, when they came into office, recommended that they should be." He said that he "did not intend to defend each individual grant": that an inquiry into it "could not fail to be a DISGUSTING INQUIRY to any gentleman who took a part in it"; that "it was calculated to wound the feelings, as well of those who conducted it, as of those who were the objects of the inquiry, and that he felt himself bound to vote against the motion."

That was the sort of opposition given by a Whig Minister; by a man who, and whose party, came into power on the breaking up of the *Tory Ministry*; which breaking up was occasioned by the Whigs having moved, by the mouth of Sir H. Parnell: "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the various items connected with the CIVIL LIST, and to report thereon."

We must also bear in mind that Lord Grey, who became *Premier of the Whig Ministry*, declared, on taking office, that "a reduction of all unnecessary expense is the firm resolution of myself and my colleagues, and that we will cut off, with AN UNSPARING HAND, all that is not demanded for the INTERESTS, THE HONOUR, AND THE WELFARE of the country."

It is scarcely necessary to add that the Whigs voted against the motion, and that it was lost.

July, 1834. The Whig Government carried the "*Poor-law Amendment Bill*." They had had a band of commissioners prowling about the country for the pretended purpose of inquiring into the state of parochial affairs; but all the inquiries were made from parish officers, clergymen and gentlemen, and not, in

any case, of the poor themselves. Oh no! that was not to be thought of for a moment! The object was, and that was a part of the instructions given to the commissioners, for the poor people of England to be "MADE TO LIVE ON COARSER FOOD"! "*Coarser food*" than the poor Dorsetshire labourers could procure for themselves, a wife and six helpless children, out of seven shillings a week! "*Coarser food*" than the magistrates of Wiltshire ordered as parish allowance for an able-bodied labourer to live on and to work on, namely, a gallon loaf and threepence-halfpenny a week!

The Whig Lord Chancellor ("*Brougham, hommes de lettres et avocat*") who is reputed to be the real author of the measure, declared, from the woolsack, that "no relief ought to be afforded, EVEN TO THE AGED AND INFIRM POOR; that they ought, during their health and strength, to save enough out of their earnings to keep themselves during SICKNESS AND OLD AGE"; although that same Lord Chancellor, so far from setting an example of such a mode of guarding against want during sickness and old age, as soon as he got himself seated on the woolsack, brought forward, and caused to be passed, a bill raising the retiring allowance for himself, from four thousand pounds to FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR. And this is the great supporter of a bill, which is, according to the report of the poor-law commissioners, to pave the way for completely and entirely abrogating all right to relief for the poor and necessitous.

There are many most monstrous things in this bill, the whole of which tend to oppress the labouring classes, and to make the getting of relief, when in distress, so irksome and degrading as to deter persons from applying for it; and if a man, who has a family depending upon his labour for their support, be in such necessity as to be compelled to apply for parochial relief, that relief is to be denied him, unless he go into the poor house to live; which poor-house may be made a sort of prison-house, and sufficiently large to contain the whole of the poor belonging, perhaps, to thirty or

forty different parishes; where there is to be a "classification" of the people confined in it. The husband, if the suggestions of the poor-law commissioners be adopted, is to be separated from the wife. The MOTHER IS TO BE SEPARATED FROM THE CHILDREN! A misgiving seemed to haunt the mind of the Chancellor Brougham (who has, since the passing of this bill, been compelled to give up the great seal into the hands of Sir Herbert Taylor!) of the possibility of his being compelled to resort to parochial aid for his support, unless this bill were passed; indeed, he distinctly said that, unless it did pass, he did not know but that he might become a "WESTMORELAND PAUPER"!

There is another thing, too, which was intended to make the poor and needy refuse to go into the poor-houses, namely, the power that parish officers have, in certain cases, to give up the bodies of the poor, who die in the poor-houses, FOR DISSECTION!!

The operation of this measure is dreadfully felt, even by unmarried men in the agricultural districts; where (owing to the horrible amount of fiscal exactions preventing the farmer from employing a sufficient number of labourers to cultivate the land) the want of employment is so great (and the farmers and parish officers naturally provide work for those who have families), that unmarried men cannot find employment, nor will parish-officers either provide it for them, or give them any relief: they tell them that now they have no more claim upon the parish than any COMMON BEGGARS. If these unfortunate men apply to the magistrates, they are told, that they have no power now to order any relief for them. If they wander about in a body, and, being in want of food, demand aid of those who are able to give it, they are sure of transportation, or perhaps of death. If they take wild animals for their support, they are liable to be transported; and if, whilst pursuing these wild animals, they be caught by the gamekeeper and resist his taking them into custody, they ARE LIABLE TO BE HANGED!!!

What have these persons done! What monstrous crimes have they committed

that they should be placed in such a horrible dilemma! No crimes at all, only, that they, whilst the law remained unaltered, were entitled to relief from the land, if they were in want; and the WHIG MINISTERS declared, that "the poor-rates would swallow up the land," although one of those very Ministers, Sir James Graham, proved when he was out of office, that a hundred and thirteen privy councillors swallowed up annually, SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS: being more by eighty thousand pounds a year (and that, mind, for only one hundred and thirteen persons) than the whole amount of the poor-rates for the TWELVE COUNTIES OF WALES, and the SIX COUNTIES of Bedford, Cumberland, Huntingdon, Monmouth, Rutland, and Westmoreland!

It ought never to be forgotten that Lord Brougham, the author of this bill, carried his hostility to the poor and unfortunate so far, as even to say, in the House of Lords, that "except for broken limbs, HOSPITALS, DISPENSARIES, AND ALMS-HOUSES, ARE LITTLE BETTER THAN NUISANCES AND OUGHT TO BE ABATED"!

The Whigs performed various other such like acts, as if desirous to retain the epithets which have for so many years been prefixed to their name by Mr. Cobbett; and, amongst other acts of theirs we ought not to omit to mention their malicious though unsuccessful prosecution of him, for that is a circumstance which will be remembered by them to the last moment of their lives. He was indicted "for publishing in the *Weekly Political Register* of the 11. December, 1830, a libel, with intent to raise discontent in the minds of labourers in husbandry, and to incite them to acts of violence, and to destroy corn-stacks, machinery, and other property," &c. Mr. Cobbett defended himself in person, and the lashing that he took the opportunity of inflicting on the "Greys, the Broughams, the Lambs, and the Russells," whom, with the rest of the Whig Ministry, he had subpoenaed, and had before him in Court; his bantering allusion to the "agreeable twaddle" of Mr. Gurney, and comparing him to a "truffle hunter"; the defiance and scorn with which he

loaded the Whig Attorney-General *Denman*, and his "*dirty bill of indictment*," indeed, the whole of his defence was so manly and so powerful; his scarcs so withering to his prosecutors; his invective so overwhelming, so terrible and so blasting to that *d graded faction*, that it will never be either forgiven or forgotten by them.

The concluding sentence of his noble defence must conclude this very brief notice of this remarkable trial, *and it would be criminal to omit it*; it is this: "*If your verdict should be one that will consign me to death, by sending me to a loathsome dungeon, I will, with my last breath, pray to God to bless my country, and curse the Whigs, and I bequeath my revenge to my CHILDREN, AND THE LABOURERS OF ENGLAND!*"

The Whig prosecution of the "*True Sun*," for their inserting articles having a tendency to bring the House of Commons into contempt, was marked by the true Whig character. Every body knew that that paper was obnoxious to the Whigs, because it was *sincere in its advocacy of Reform*, and *sincerity* is the very devil to a Whig. They could prosecute, and punish that paper for bringing the House of Commons into contempt, whilst the two Whig papers, the *Times* and the *Chronicle*, were allowed to go unscathed for their fierce attacks on both Houses of Parliament, describing many of the members as being "*hired lacqueys of public delinquents who stand up as advocates of the disgraceful service they have embarked in.*" And the Whig Attorney-General (*Denman*), on the words just quoted, being brought before his notice in the House of Commons, said, "I cannot say but that the words are true. I cannot say they are false, I never thought them so." The two before-named papers seemed to be trying to outvie each other in abusing the Parliament at the very time that the Whig Government was prosecuting the *True Sun* for bringing the House of Commons into contempt. Aye, but the *True Sun* took the liberty to give the Whigs a dressing as well as the Tories; and for that the Whigs seem determined to crush that

paper; whilst the *Times* and the *Chronicle* were lending, or rather selling, a factious support to the Whigs, and, therefore, was protected by that crew, although they described those members of both Houses of Parliament, who were opposed to the Whigs, as "*robbers*," "*bastards*," "*insane*," "*hungry and restless paupers*," "*men who live on the pillage of the nation*," &c., epithets and terms, but ten times more violent and contemptuous than those for which the *True Sun* was so savagely punished.

Then there is to be remembered, against the Whigs, their objecting to take off the newspaper duty:

Their objecting to the motion by which no Minister of state was to be allowed a retiring pension until he had served *five years*:

Their tricks with regard to Savings Banks, in order to make it as difficult as possible for the deposits to be withdrawn:

Their granting a large sum of money to the discoverer of the north-west passage, the magnetic pole, and the CROKER MOUNTAINS:

Their paying the Russo-Dutch loan of SIX MILLIONS: Their *Otho* loan of TWO MILLIONS: In short, their extreme mildness, integrity, and patriotism, have been such, during the *four years of their pestilent sway*, that more of the blood of his Majesty's subjects has been shed, more victims to the odious laws affecting the press have been punished with fine and imprisonment, than have taken place in England within the same period since 1780.

Nor must we forget their having added about FORTY MILLIONS to the national debt, in the *four years of their baneful domination*, being *one-eighteenth part of the whole debt*, which has taken more than a hundred and fifty years to accumulate.

The reader will have been disgusted if he have waded through this catalogue of crimes, therefore this offensive but necessary task shall be concluded by placing a few of the acts of the Tories in juxtaposition with some of those of the Whigs:

The Tories

Opposed the Reform Bill.

Supported long Parliaments.

Had their *Sidmouths* and their *Castles* and their *Olivers*.

Had their *Manchester* affair.

Had their standing army in time of peace.

Declared against cheap political publications.

Suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act.

Supported the Pension list.

Had their Swan River emigration job.

Passed Sturges Bourne's Bills, giving a plurality of votes in vestries to the rich.

Abolished the income-tax, and kept on the *assessed taxes* and the *malt-tax*.

In and out of place objected to the vote by ballot.

Put about one-half of the names on the Pension-list.

The Whigs

Put in the tax-paying clauses and stultified the effect of the bill.

Refused to repeal the Septennial Act.

Had their *Melbournes* and their *Popays*, and defended the use of *Spies*.

Had their fast-day affair, and their *Calthorpe-street* affair.

Augmented the standing army that the Tories had left them.

Prosecuted and punished those who sold them.

Passed the Irish Coercion Bill and trial by COURTS-MARTIAL.

Refused to revise it.

Had their Australian emigration job, by Wilmot Horton.

Passed the *Poor-law Amendment Bill*, giving the rich the right to vote by proxy; and refused to repeal *Sturges Bourne's Bills*.

Refused to repeal the malt-tax and the assessed taxes, for fear that they should be obliged to lay on a property-tax.

In favour of vote by ballot when out of place, but against it when in place.

Put the other half of the names on that list, and would allow of no inquiry into it, saying, that it would be "DISGUSTING AND UNGENTLEMANLY" to do so!

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, APRIL 10.

INSOLVENT.

ARCHBALD, W. A., Ratcliff-cross and Back-lane, St. George's-in-the-East, sugar-refiner.

BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

HILDER, A., Otford, Kent, cheesemonger.

HOLLOWAY, W., Dorset-street, Clapham-road, brewer.

PARNHAM, B., High-street, Shadwell, and Liverpool, sail-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

CALEY, R., Queen's-row, Walworth, merchant.

EDMUNDSON, J., Blackburn, Lancashire, cotton-manufacturer.

GREEN, G., and A. Lynn, Golden-lane, Barbican, leather-sellers.

HALL, R., Paradise-street, Rotherthire, general-dealer.

STYLES, J., Elizabeth-place, North Brixton, Lambeth, lodging-house-keeper.

VERYARD, R., Bristol, flax-dresser.

WARD, W., Coventry, ribbon-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, APRIL 14.

INSOLVENT.

TERRY, T. L., Cornhill, vintner.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DANIEL, P. H., Razees, Bosbury, Herefordshire, cider-merchant and cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

CLAYTON, J., Buxton, Derbyshire, draper and tailor.

DIX, W., Burslem, Staffordshire, draper.

GOODBODY, A., Ludgate-street, London, tailor.

HARRISON, S. W., and W. Harrison, North Shields, scriveners and ship-owners.

MARCHETTI, J., Torquay, Devonshire, victualler.

SEWARD, J. H., Leominster, Herefordshire, wine and spirit-merchant.

HELDON, J., Walsall, Staffordshire, publican and maltster.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 13.—We have had a good supply of Wheat and Flour since this day week, for which we experienced an exceedingly dull sale to-day, at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter on Wheat, and 2s. per sack on Flour, from last Monday's prices.

Fine fresh malting Barley, being scarce, was taken off at last Monday's prices, but all secondary qualities were offered 1s. per quarter lower, and nearly unsaleable, as many of our maltsters are leaving off, and our distillers are very little in the market; but we should expect grinding Barley must be in request this summer.

We had a large arrival of Oats last week and this morning, for which we experienced a good demand to-day at an advance of 6d. to 1s. per quarter over last Monday's prices, but the trade was hardly so brisk as on Friday.

In corn, under lock, nothing doing to-day.

Wheat, English, White, new	38s. to 40s.
Old	44s. to 48s.
Red, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to —s.
Lincolnshire, red	34s. to 38s.
White	38s. to 40s.
Yorkshire, red	34s. to 37s.
White	38s. to 40s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	36s. to 38s.
Fine white	37s. to 40s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	38s. to 40s.
Irish red, good	32s. to 35s.
White	35s. to 38s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	24s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 35s.
Chevalier	38s. to 41s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	34s. to 36s.
Foreign	33s. to 35s.
Gray or Hog	34s. to 36s.
Maples	36s. to 38s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	24s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, feed	23s. to 25s.
Yorkshire, feed	23s. to 25s.
Black	24s. to 27s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato	26s. to 27s.
Ditto, Angus	25s. to 26s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	26s. to 27s.
Potato	26s. to 28s.
Irish Potato, new	23s. to 25s.
Feed, new light	21s. to 22s.
Black, new	22s. to 23s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.

Danish & Pomeranian, old 20s. to 22s.
 Petersburg, Riga, &c. . . 22s. to 23s.
 Foreign, in bond, feed. . . 12s. to 14s.
 Brew. 16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, April 13.

In this day's market, which exhibited, throughout, a good supply for the time of the year, trade was, in the whole, somewhat brisk. Prime small Mutton and Lamb selling freely, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; Beef, Mutton, and Pork, at fully Friday's quotations.

About 2,100 of the beasts, a full moiety of which were Scots; about a fourth Shorthorns, and the remainder in about equal numbers of Devons, homebreds, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, were, for the most part (say at least three-fourths of them), from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 180, chiefly Devons, Scots, and Shorthorns, with a few Welsh runts and Irish beasts, from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and others of our northern districts; about 200, in about equal numbers of Devons, Herefords, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 140, for the most part Sussex steers and oxen, with a few runts and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, which embraced about 40 lusty Townsend cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, for the most part out of their wool, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters and Lincolns, Ryelands, Kents, Kentish half-breds, and horned and polled Norfolks, with a few pens of horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. The Lambs, in number about 4,000, consisted of about equal numbers of new Leicesters, Southdowns, and Dorsets; with a few pens of Kentish half-breds, and various nondescript crosses.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior Beef	2	0	to	2 2
Ditto Mutton	2	2	to	2 4
Middling Beef	2	6	to	2 10
Ditto Mutton	2	8	to	3 0
Prime Beef	3	6	to	3 10
Ditto Mutton	3	6	to	4 0
Veal	3	6	to	5 0
Pork	3	0	to	4 0
Lamb	5	0	to	6 4

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
3 per Cent.	91½	92	92½	91½	91½	92½
Cons. Ann.	91½	92	92½	91½	91½	92½

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MORISON'S MEDICINES.

Report from Mr. Davis on the Cure of an Enlargement of the Liver.

To Mr. SPENCE, General Agent for Berkshire.

SIR,—Among the several Cures which have been effected by "Morison's Universal Medicines" in this place, I select the following as deserving of public notice.

Robert Fowler, shoemaker, had been under the doctor's hands for twelve months, with what was termed an Enlargement of the Liver, telling him, at the same time, that his heart was like sponge at the bottom. He (the Doctor) did his best to alleviate his sufferings; but, being poor, and on the parish, with a large family, gave him up as incurable, saying that "all the drugs in his shop could do him no good, as that die he shortly must," and gave him up as a lost case.

In conversation with the poor man, on his hopeless case, I advised him to try the Pills, which he was willing to do, but said he was "too poor to pay for medicine." I gave him a box for trial, and if he found any benefit from them, to persevere in taking them, according to directions: he did so, and another person giving him a box, he found so much relief, that he contrived somehow to raise enough for an eleven shilling packet. I advised him to run up to thirty Pills a day, gradually, but without loss of time. He did so, and it did not kill him (as the York and Pershore Doctors would insinuate), but absolutely cured

him, before he had finished the packet; and he is as well now as he has ever been these twenty years past; and fully able to earn bread for himself and family again, which he has not done for the last three years.

He is willing to state the above facts on oath if necessary. I shall shortly have other important cases and cures to lay before you, and you may rest assured that Morison's Pills are becoming all prevalent in this neighbourhood.

I am, sir, yours truly,

J. DAVIS.

Lambourn, Berks,
14. Sept., 1834.

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